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The Meaning of the Expression "Between the Two Walls"

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IN Jer. 52⁵⁻⁸ we read: "So the city was besieged unto the eleventh year of king Zedekiah. In the fourth month, in the ninth day of the month, the famine was sore in the city, so that there was no bread for the people of the land. Then a breach was made in the city, and all the men of war fled and went out of the city by night by the way of the gate between the two walls, which was above the king's garden (now the Chaldeans were against the city round about); and they went by the way of the Arabah. And the army of the Chaldeans pursued after the king, and overtook Zedekiah in the plains of Jericho." In 2 Ki. 25²⁻⁵ this passage is repeated with slight textual differences. Jer. 39²⁻⁵ is another duplicate, which, however, contains several additional items: "In the eleventh year of Zedekiah, in the fourth month, the ninth day of the month, a breach was made in the city. And all the princes of the king of Babylon came in and sat in the middle gate, even Nergal-sharezer, Samgar-nebo, Sarsechim, Rab-saris, Nergal-sharezer, Rab-mag, with all the rest of the princes of the king of Babylon. And it came to pass that when Zedekiah the king of Judah and all the men of war saw them, then they fled

and went forth out of the city by night by the way of the king's garden, by the gate between the two walls." The only other passage in the Old Testament where the expression "between the two walls" occurs is Is. 22⁹⁻¹¹: "Ye saw the breaches of the city of David that they were many, and ye collected the waters of the lower pool, and ye numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and ye brake down the houses to fortify the wall, and ye made a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool."

The question, what these two walls were, is of such importance for the archæology of Jerusalem that it seems worth while to make it the object of a special investigation.

Nebuchadrezzar, like all the other besiegers of Jerusalem, must have made his attack from the north, since this was the only side on which the city was not protected by deep ravines. The Middle Gate, in which his officers sat after a breach was made in the wall, is not called by this name elsewhere in the Old Testament; and one might suspect textual corruption, but that the reading is confirmed by the LXX. The name implies that the gate lay in the middle of one of the sides of the city, and if this side was the north, then it must be identical with the Fish Gate. According to Neh. 3¹⁻⁶, the wall was repaired from the Sheep Gate, which was the northern entrance to the Temple (cf. Neh. 12³⁹) to the Tower of Hammeah, which stood on the site of the later Antonia; then to the Tower of Hananel, which was the northernmost angle of the city (cf. Jer. 31³⁸, Zech. 14¹⁰); then to the Fish Gate; then to the Old Gate, which must be identified with the Corner Gate of the older histories at the north-west corner of the old city on the site of the modern Jaffa Gate (cf. Zech. 14¹⁰ where ישן, 'old,' should be read instead ראשון, 'first'). The same location in the middle of the north wall of the city is assigned to the Fish Gate by Neh. 12³⁹, which represents the second company of Levites as marching upon the north wall from the Old Gate to the Fish Gate, and then to the Tower of Hananel, the Tower of Hammeah, the Sheep Gate, and the Temple. The precise location of the Fish Gate depends upon the course of the

second wall on the north. I believe it to have been practically identical with that of the present north city wall from the Jaffa Gate to the Damascus Gate (see my article in this JOURNAL, vol. xxiv. 1905, pp. 196-211). In that case the Middle Gate, or Fish Gate, is to be identified with the modern Damascus Gate, and is still to be seen in the ancient stones that appear in the foundations of this gate. If other theories are correct, and the second wall lay inside of the present north wall, then the Middle Gate was situated a little farther south. In any case it lay in the valley El-Wâd, the Tyropœon of Josephus.

If the city was captured at this point, and Nebuchadrezzar's officers established their headquarters there, it is obvious that Zedekiah would seek to escape on the opposite side of the city, that is, by the gate at the southern end of the Tyropœon valley. This is expressly indicated by the statement of Jeremiah and Kings that he fled by the way of the Arabah. The shortest and easiest route from Jerusalem to the Arabah is down the Wâdy en-Nâr or Kidron valley. It took Zedekiah to the Plains of Jericho, and here he was overtaken and captured by the Chaldeans. It is clear, accordingly, that "the gate between the two walls" must be sought somewhere near the southern extremity of the city.

Its location is fixed more precisely by the statement of Jeremiah and Kings that it was *על-גן המלך*, that is, "above," or "near the garden of the king." The King's Garden, according to Neh. 3¹⁵, was adjacent to the Pool of Siloam and the Stairs of the City of David. The Pool of Siloam is one of the few localities of ancient Jerusalem whose position is undisputed. The narrative of the rebuilding of the wall in Neh. 3, where the several landmarks are mentioned in regular order, shows that it lay near the southern angle of the city. In Neh. 2¹³⁻¹⁵ Nehemiah rides down the valley of Hinnom from the Valley Gate at the southwest corner (cf. 2 Chr. 26⁹) to the Dung Gate and the Fountain Gate, which must have been near the fountain of Siloam, then to the King's Pool, which must be the same as the Pool of Siloam,

and then up the *Nahal*, or Kidron valley. This also shows that Siloam lay at the southern angle of the city. Josephus (*Wars*, v. 4¹) states that Siloam lay at the southern end of the Tyropœon valley, and describes it as a fountain with much sweet water. In *Wars*, v. 9⁴, he describes it as a spring outside of the city. In *Wars*, v. 4², he names it as the southern point at which the wall bent around (cf. *Wars*, ii. 16², v. 12², v. 6¹, vi. 7², vi. 8⁵). These passages all indicate that Siloam is identical with the modern 'Ain Silwân, whose name is the exact Arabic equivalent of the ancient Siloam.

The other landmark by which the King's Garden is located in Neh. 3¹⁵ is the Stairs of the City of David. After long controversy it is now coming to be generally recognized that the City of David lay on the southern end of the eastern hill of Jerusalem. The evidence for this opinion in brief is as follows: (1) The stronghold of the Jebusites, which David renamed after himself, must have been near a water supply, and the Gihon, or Virgin's Fountain, on the slope of the southeast hill in the Kidron valley, is the only spring in the neighborhood of the city. (2) The tombs of the kings are repeatedly said to have been situated in the City of David, but according to Ezek. 43⁷ they have defiled the Temple by their proximity. (3) Is. 29¹⁻²⁻⁷ identifies the City of David with the place where the feasts are celebrated, that is, with the Temple mount. (4) Nowhere is one said to go up *to* the City of David, but always to go up *from* it to the Temple or palace quarter (cf. 2 Sam. 6¹⁰, 1 Ki. 3¹, 8¹, 9²⁴). This indicates that it lay south of the Temple, as all the other hills of Jerusalem are higher than the Temple. (5) In 2 Chr. 32³⁰ we are told that Hezekiah stopped the upper outflow of the waters of Gihon, and brought them straight down to the west side of the City of David. This can only refer to the construction of the Siloam conduit which carries the water of the Virgin's Fountain under the southeast hill to Siloam. (6) In 2 Chr. 33¹⁴ it is stated that Manasseh built an outer wall to the City of David on the west side of Gihon in the *Nahal*. Gihon in the *Nahal* is

the Virgin's Fountain in the Wady Sitti Maryam, and the wall of the City of David west of Gihon can only be a wall on the eastern side of the southeastern hill. (7) In 1 Mac-cabees the City of David is identified with the Akra or stronghold of the Syrians, and is located on the same hill with the Temple (cf. 1 Macc. 1³³, 7³²⁻³³, 14³⁶). (8) Josephus equates the City of David with the Akra of the Syrians in *Ant.* vii. 3¹⁻² (cf. *Ant.* xii. 3³, 6², 7⁶, 9³⁻⁴, 10⁴, xiii. 1³, 2³, 4⁹, 5², 5¹¹, 6⁶⁻⁷). He also equates the Akra with the Lower City in *Wars*, i. 1⁴, v. 4¹, 6¹. His statements in regard to the Lower City show that it lay on the eastern hill south of the Temple (cf. *Wars*, v. 4¹, *Ant.* xiv. 16², *Wars*, ii. 17⁵, iv. 9¹², vi. 6³, 7²). It appears, accordingly, that there is an unbroken tradition in favor of the location of the City of David on the southeast hill from the earliest times down to Josephus. After the destruction of Jerusalem the City of David was supposed to have lain on the southwest hill, where to-day the Tomb of David is shown by the Moslems, but of this theory there is no trace before the fourth century A.D., and it is worthless over against the large body of ancient evidence in favor of the southeast hill. The Stairs of the City of David, near which the King's Garden lay, according to Neh. 3¹⁵, must therefore be sought at the southern end of the southeastern hill where the rocky cliffs make an ordinary road impossible and necessitate steps to reach the summit. At this point a number of steps cut in the rock are still visible, and there is no reason to doubt that they are the original Stairs of the City of David.¹

If, as we have just seen, Siloam is 'Ain Silwân, and the Stairs of the City of David lay at the southern end of the eastern hill, then the King's Garden, which was adjacent to these two landmarks, must be identified with the fertile tract watered from Siloam at the mouth of the Tyropœon, which now serves as the market-garden of Jerusalem. But

¹ For pictures of many of these localities from recent photographs, see the illustrations to Professor H. G. Mitchell's article, "The Wall of Jerusalem according to the Book of Nehemiah," in this JOURNAL, vol. xxii. 1903, pp. 85-163.

according to Jer. 52⁷, 39⁴, 2 Ki. 25⁴, the gate between the two walls lay above the King's Garden; it must, therefore, have lain in the Tyropœon valley a short distance above the point where it opens into the Kidron valley. In this case it is identical with the Fountain Gate that is mentioned so frequently by Nehemiah. In Neh. 2¹⁴ the Fountain Gate was passed by the governor in going along the wall from the Dung Gate to the King's Pool. In 3¹⁵ it was rebuilt between the Dung Gate and the wall of the Pool of Siloam. In 12³⁷ it was traversed by the first company of Levites in going from the Dung Gate to the Stairs of the City of David. The name Fountain Gate shows that it gave access from the city to the Fountain of Siloam, in which case it must have lain in the Tyropœon valley near the mouth of the Siloam conduit. This, however, is precisely the location that our references demand for "the gate between the two walls."

The other passage in which the expression "between the two walls" is used is Is. 22^{9, 11}: "Ye held back the water of the lower pool . . . and ye made a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool." Here "lower pool" is identical with "old pool" (note the similar parallelism of v.⁹ with ¹⁰), and the idea is that the water was prevented from flowing into the lower or old pool, and was made to flow into a new reservoir between the two walls. There is no room for doubt that this refers to the hewing of the Siloam tunnel by King Hezekiah. In 1886 Schick discovered an aqueduct on the surface of the ground on the east side of the eastern hill, leading from the Virgin's Fountain to Birket el-Hamra, or the lower Pool of Siloam, at the mouth of the Tyropœon valley. This is evidently older than the rock-hewn tunnel under the hill, which was designed to be a substitute for it. When now we read, "Ye held back the waters of the lower pool, and ye made a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool," this can only refer to a blocking up of the old watercourse outside of the city from the Virgin's Fountain to Birket el-Hamra, and a bringing down of the

water through the Siloam tunnel to 'Ain Silwân. This is the same undertaking that is referred to in 2 Ki. 20²⁰, where it is said of Hezekiah, "He made the pool and the conduit and brought water into the city." 2 Chr. 32⁴ states that Hezekiah "stopped all the fountains and the brook (נהל) that flowed through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water?" and 2 Chr. 32³⁰ states that "Hezekiah stopped the upper outflow of the waters of Gihon and brought them straight down to the west side of the City of David." The "upper outflow" that Hezekiah stopped is the old channel on the surface of the ground outside of the city wall, on the east side of the eastern hill. Gihon is the Virgin's Fountain, and "the west side of the City of David" is the west side of the eastern hill where the Siloam conduit empties (cf. 2 Ki. 18¹⁷). In the light of this evidence it is unquestionable that the Siloam tunnel is Hezekiah's conduit. In this tunnel the famous Siloam Inscription was discovered, and it is interesting to note that the word מַיִצָּא, which it uses of the outflow of water from the source, is the same that 2 Chr. 32³⁰ uses of the outflow of Gihon.

The result of our investigations thus far is, that "the gate between the two walls" is the Fountain Gate, which lay in the immediate vicinity of 'Ain Silwân; and that the "pool between the two walls" is 'Ain Silwân itself.

The question that must now be raised is, What do we know about walls in the vicinity of 'Ain Silwân? From 2 Sam. 5⁹ we know that David fortified the City of David with a wall; this wall, accordingly, must have inclosed the southern end of the eastern hill. Traces of it and of the scarps that formed its foundation have been discovered by Bliss and by Guthe on the southern and eastern sides of the hill high above the bed of the Kidron. No traces of this wall have yet been discovered in the Tyropœon valley, but the artificial scarp on which it stood may be followed for some distance above Siloam.

At a later period a wall was built around the western hill, which joined the wall of the City of David at Siloam. This

is described by Josephus in *Wars*, v. 4², as follows: "On the other side, on the west, beginning at the same place [*i.e.* at the Tower of Hippicus, at the modern Jaffa Gate] it extended through a place called Bethso to the Gate of the Essenes; then, on the south, it made a curve past the fountain Siloam; after which it made another bend out of its course on the east side at Solomon's Pool, and ran to a certain place called Ophel, where it joined the eastern cloister of the Temple." From *Wars*, v. 9⁴, it appears that the Pool of Siloam lay outside of the city. This indicates that the wall did not cross the Tyropœon valley from the southern end of the western hill to the southern end of the eastern hill, but that it followed the cliff on the western side of the pools to a point above Siloam and there crossed the valley to join the wall of the City of David on the eastern side. This wall as described by Josephus corresponds with the remains discovered by Dr. Frederick J. Bliss in 1894, extending all the way from Maudslay's scarp in the Protestant Cemetery to the south end of the west hill. From this point Bliss traced a wall on the western side of the Tyropœon as far as the Upper Pool of Siloam, where apparently it crossed the valley and joined the wall of the City of David. Bliss also found another massive wall that served at one time as a dam for the Lower Pool of Siloam, crossing the mouth of the Tyropœon valley from the southern end of the western hill to the southern end of the eastern hill.

These are the historical and archæological facts in regard to walls in the vicinity of Siloam. In view of them, what is one to think of the meaning of the expression "between the two walls"? The following theories have been held:—

1. That the two walls are the eastern and western walls of the old City of David at the southern end of the eastern hill. But Hezekiah's pool is identical with 'Ain Silwân, and this does not lie between the walls of the City of David, but at the bottom of the Tyropœon valley outside of the City of David. Moreover, the Gate between the Two Walls, or Fountain Gate, did not lie in the wall of the City of

David, since, according to Neh. 3¹⁵, 12³⁷, one had to go eastward from it to reach the City of David.

2. W. Robertson Smith, as edited by G. A. Smith in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 2419, suggests the view that "Hezekiah's pool was protected by an outer line of fortification, and that here lay the gate of the two walls." This theory is a necessary corollary of Robertson Smith's idea that Jerusalem was limited to the eastern hill until Maccabean times; but it is destitute of archæological evidence. No walls have been found in the vicinity of Siloam that serve to join the Pool of Siloam as a sort of appendix to the City of David. The wall on the west side of the Tyropœon defends, not the pool, but the western hill; and the wall across the mouth of the Tyropœon is evidently designed to defend the whole southern end of the city. The expression "between the two walls" is applicable to a pool inclosed with an outer wall which attached it to the city, but it is not applicable to a gate which lay outside of this enclosure. Robertson Smith disguises this difficulty by calling it the "gate of the two walls," but the Hebrew says distinctly "the gate *between* the two walls."

3. Bliss, Guthe, Benzinger, Kittel, Marti, Duhm, Wilson, think that the "two walls" are the wall of Josephus that crosses the valley above 'Ain Silwân and the massive wall at the mouth of the valley from the end of the western hill to the end of the eastern hill. This theory explains satisfactorily the name "between the two walls" applied to the Pool of Siloam, but it does not explain this name as applied to the Fountain Gate. If the two walls are the wall north of Siloam and the wall south of Siloam, the Fountain Gate was not between two walls but through one wall. Furthermore, it is very doubtful whether the wall across the mouth of the Tyropœon was in existence as early as the time of Hezekiah. It was not in existence in Josephus's day. He says distinctly that Siloam lay outside of the city, and that the wall bent above Siloam, and again at the Lower Pool, which he calls Solomon's Pool. It seems unlikely that the preëxilic city should have been more exten-

sive than Herod's city, and that the task of crossing the deep Tyropœon valley should have been shunned by Herod when it was accomplished by the ancient kings. We know that the Empress Eudoxia (450-460 A.D.) built a wall across the mouth of the Tyropœon, so as to protect the church at the Pool of Siloam. The outermost wall that Bliss discovered is probably her work, and there is no good reason to suppose that it followed the line of a more ancient wall.

4. The only theory left is that the two walls are the walls on the two sides of the Tyropœon valley, that is, the eastern wall of the western hill and the western wall of the eastern hill. This is the view of Duhm, and is suggested as an alternative theory by Benzinger and Marti. If this be so, it throws light on the moot question among archæologists of the antiquity of the south wall as described by Josephus. If the valley of Hinnom be identified with Wâdy er-Rabâbi, then the Valley Gate of Neh. 2¹³ and 3¹³, which was in existence as early as Uzziah (2 Chr. 26⁹), must be identified with Josephus's Gate of the Essenes and with the gateway which Bliss discovered at the southwest corner of the city near the Protestant Cemetery. In that case Nehemiah's wall, as described in Neh. 2¹³⁻¹⁵, 3¹³⁻¹⁵, 12³¹⁻³⁷, followed the same line as Josephus's wall; but Nehemiah's wall was merely a repairing of the preëxilic wall, consequently we shall have to assume that the western hill of Jerusalem was inclosed in preëxilic times. If, on the other hand, Robertson Smith is right in identifying the Hinnom with the Tyropœon, then Nehemiah's wall did not follow the same course as that of Josephus, and there is no evidence that the western hill was inclosed in preëxilic times. There is a strong probability in favor of the identification of Hinnom with the Wâdy er-Rabâbi, but the case cannot be regarded as settled, and so long as this is uncertain there will be doubt concerning the area of preëxilic Jerusalem.

The phrase "between the two walls" throws a great deal of light upon this matter, for it indicates the existence of a wall on the western side of the Tyropœon valley at the time when this phrase was used. The mention of the "gate

between the two walls" in 2 Ki. 25⁴ carries us back to the period of the Exile, and shows at least that the two walls were in existence before the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar. This means that the wall described by Josephus and excavated by Bliss was in existence in pre-exilic times. The mention of "the pool between the two walls" in Is. 22¹¹ carries us back to a still earlier period. Is. 22¹⁻¹⁴ is in the main an oracle of the time of Sennacherib's invasion in 701. Recent commentators (*e.g.* Duhm, Cheyne, Marti) reject vss.⁹⁻¹¹ ^a on the ground that they interrupt the connection between ⁹ ^a and ¹¹ ^b. In ⁸⁻⁹ ^a we read, "Ye looked to the armor in the House of the Forest, and ye saw that the breaches in the City of David were many." Verse ¹¹ ^b continues, "But ye looked not to Him who prepared all this, and Him who fashioned it long ago ye did not regard." These two sentences seem to belong together, and the description of the repairing of the wall and of the construction of the new pool that comes between looks like the interpolation of a learned scribe. I am not quite sure that this argument is valid. These items are not irrelevant to Isaiah's thought that the nation has depended upon worldly helps rather than upon Yahweh, and the contrast "ye looked to the armor, but ye looked not to Yahweh," could easily be carried over the short, intervening clauses. Moreover, these clauses are in poetic parallelism, and show the alternation of parallels that is favored by Isaiah (*cf.* Is. 7¹⁴⁻¹⁷). The language also is archaic and poetic. It is possible, therefore, that these words are an original part of the prophecy. However, even if they are an interpolation, this does not affect their value as archæological evidence. The scribe who added the statement, "Ye held back the water of the old pool, and ye numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and ye brake down the houses to fortify the wall, and ye made a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool," must have had access to historical sources for the reign of Hezekiah independent of our books of Kings or Chronicles, which contain no such statements as these. There is no reason, accordingly, to doubt the correctness of this information,

even if it be not an integral part of the prophecy of Isaiah. This passage indicates that the expression "between the two walls" could be used as early as the reign of Hezekiah, that is, that the wall inclosing the western hill existed as early as his time. The expression "between the two walls" is never used before the reign of Hezekiah, and this fact leads to the conjecture that "the other wall," which Hezekiah is reported to have built, was the loop around the southern end of the western hill. In 2 Chr. 32⁵ we read: "And he took courage and built up all the wall that was broken down, and raised it up to the towers, and the other wall without" (or "another wall without"). This passage is not found in the book of Kings, but it does not show the peculiarities of the Chronicler, and must have been derived by him from an ancient source. It is confirmed by Is. 22¹⁰, "And ye numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and ye brake down the houses to fortify the wall." It was the building of this southernmost line of wall that first made the description "between the two walls" possible for the region round about Siloam. If these arguments be valid, then Josephus's southern wall was as old as the time of Hezekiah. The inner line of wall on the south, which Bliss discovered, encircling the upper portion of the western hill, must then be the line of Solomon and the other kings who preceded Hezekiah.